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0 NIKOLAY ABRAMTCHIK - DST-18102
STATE-D-52-Paris

No. 90
Official-Informal
CONFIDENTIAL-Security Information
American Embassy
Paris, France
April 8, 1953

Dear Barbour,

This is a Peripheral matter relating to the
Soviet Union - Belorussia - SONE Project.

Herewith, I am forwarding a memorandum (MCG)
setting forth ABRAMTCHIK'S latest views on the mat-
ters relating to KTsAB.

A copy of this letter is being forwarded to Mr.
KENDRICK at Munich.

Sincerely,

Landreth M. Harrison
First Secretary of Embassy

Enclosure:
as stated

Walworth Barbour, Esquire,
Director, Office of Eastern European Affairs,
Department of State,
Washington, D. C.

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April 8, 1953

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Views of ABRAMTCHIK, President of the Belorussian National Council, on Recent Developments in the Emigration.

Prior to his departure for the United States which is planned for April 15, 1953, ABRAMTCHIK, President of the Belorussian National Council, discussed with us on April 7 the most recent developments in the emigre field, specifically his conversations with Admiral STEVENS and his participation in the Paris Conference of representatives of separatist emigre groups of Soviet origin (March 1953). The views expressed by Abramtchik may be summarized as follows:

1. The general feeling created in emigre groups representing the oppressed peoples of the Soviet Union after the conversations of these exiles with Admiral Stevens should be one of optimism. Indeed, to judge from his statements to the Belorussians, Admiral Stevens is willing to accept as basis for collaboration between the exiles and the American Committee conditions which meet with the full approval of the emigres supporting Karlsruhe and actually present the principal points of the Karlsruhe agreement. These are: a common front for anti-Communist struggle, complete equality of each participating group, and freedom to engage in activity furthering the claim to independence of each such group. The Belorussians feel therefore that little stands in the way for the establishment of complete understanding, especially if, as declared by Admiral Stevens, the heretofore unsatisfactory representatives of the American Committee are replaced by highly qualified personnel (Mr. KUNIHOLM, for example, who is expected in Paris about the twentieth of this month). Unfortunately, the lack of political experience of the Ukrainian National Council manifested apparently in the Munich talks of the Ukrainian representatives with Admiral Stevens may have given the Admiral an erroneous impression of the difficulties to be overcome in establishing collaboration with the exiles. The intransigence of the Ukrainians should not be taken too seriously since they have now understood the urgent necessity for the exiles to cooperate with the American Committee.
2. The Paris Conference of March , 1953, resulted in the signing of a memorandum for submission to the American Committee. The memorandum follows in main the lines elaborated at Karlsruhe. Among other provisions, it proposes complete parity on UNO principles between members in a future coordinating center. This point, however may

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be amended and presented in a manner more acceptable to other groups (for example NIKOLAEVSKI of the League). The memorandum will be submitted to the American Committee in the second half of April, 1953, by a delegation including a Ukrainian (VITVITSKI), a Georgian (CHKOTUA, who is now visiting Switzerland), and a Bielorussian (Abramovich). The next step envisaged by the participants of the Paris Conference of March 1953 in their relationship with the American Committee is the convocation by the Committee of a broad conference of exiles to be held in Munich in the not too distant future.

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3. Dissension among the Caucasian emigre representatives participating in the Paris Conference at first seriously endangered the successes achieved at Karlsruhe. Relations were extremely strained between the Georgians and the Armenians. The Dashnaks who, following many years of historical conflicts, have maintained hostile feelings toward the Georgians, were violent in their reaction to what they termed the duplicity of TSINTADZE and GEGETCHKORI in letting down other Caucasian groups who signed an agreement with them in Paris in October 1952. Bielorussian intervention and persuasion, as well as outside pressure (apparently on the part of Armenians in the United States) finally succeeded in influencing the Dashnaks to change their attitude and to set their signatures to a document signed by Tsintadze and Gegetchkori. A similar problem has now arisen with the Azari representatives. HADJIBEKYLI, while declaring himself in full accord with the Karlsruhe principles, refuses to sign the memorandum elaborated at Paris until he receives guarantees that the Georgians will abide by their word.
4. The Georgians have undoubtedly now taken a definite stand in forming a common front with other non-Russian groups. Their past intrigue and double-crossing resulted from their unwillingness, on one side, to break with the American Committee by severing relations with KTSAB, and on the other by the pressure to which they were subjected on the part of their countrymen in exile. Threatened by the complete collapse of the Georgian National Council which they had formed, and by the loss of all their followers who attacked Gegetchkori and Tsintadze for betraying the Georgian cause and gradually drifted over to the Georgian National Center, the two leaders constantly shifted in their policy and pledged themselves to contradictory programs. Now that they have taken a definite stand, the Ukrainians and Bielorussians are entrusting them, as well as the Armenians, with the duty of drawing other Caucasian exiles into supporting the Karlsruhe platform. The first Caucasian group to join will probably be that led by CHAMIL, who is now visiting Paris and is conducting negotiations with various participants of the Paris Conference.